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ABSTRACT

Based on a review of the literature on mid-career crises and various intervention strategies and on collection of a representative inventory of services currently available, a strategy and role for adult career education was developed and priorities and highlights of a research and development strategy were suggested for the National Institute of Education (NIE). Conclusions which emerged are these: (1) A mid-career crisis can be defined as a crisis of re-employment and possible forced mid-life change of career. This crisis can be precipitated by an unexpected loss of work and a shortage of jobs in the local area which utilize the skills of the individual. (2) The literature and data on mid-career crises are inadequate in several key respects. In particular, minimal data exist on the affected population or its numbers, or on the long-term effects of the crisis. (3) A mid-career crisis will for most workers entails short-term economic and associated psychological disruption, unless we commit ourselves to a European solution of substantial income support and long term education for the worker. (4) Current programs of assistance are piecemeal and uncoordinated. The experience of programs to date shows, as expected, minimal success at averting short-term losses to those individuals who are minimally qualified by objective standards to re-enter the labor force at previous levels of status and earnings. (5) A successful program of adult career education must take into account the labor market and psychological factors in the crises and therefore must include a combination of the following: Counseling, assurance of jobs following training, and involvement of employers in the area. (JT)

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ADULT CAREER EDUCATION
AS AN INTERVENTION STRATEGY
IN MID-CAREER CRISIS

Prepared for

Career Education Project
Education Development Center

by

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INTRODUCTION

A. Context

Beginning in the late 1950's the image was developed of the trauma and uncertain fate of the displaced worker -- put out of work by the impersonal but inexorable shifts in the economy. Frightening consequences of processes such as "automation", "obsolescence of skills" and the like were drawn for the new technological society. While the worst fears were put to rest by the experience of the 1960's, the image of the displaced worker continues today in the form of concern about the mid-career crisis -- the new term for unexpected loss of work, followed by a crisis of re-employment and possible forced change of career.

This project is a systematic analysis of what is known today about the mid-career crisis and about intervention strategies to alleviate the often unavoidable psychological and economic effects of loss of work. N.I.E. has expressed an interest in the possibilities for adult career education as a productive intervention strategy and options for their involvement will be discussed in detail.

The context of discussion has changed somewhat from the late 1950's, when public action had yet to be taken. The programs of manpower training and development which were eventually instituted in the 1960's, had their primary impact on disadvantaged and unskilled adults and youth and very little impact on the mid-career adult. But, in the 1970's interest and

commitment to recurrent education is growing as a positive force for upgrading and retraining of the labor force. In the past few years many of the European countries have instituted formal retraining programs financed out of wages in much the way that unemployment insurance schemes are financed in this country. These programs provide interesting examples of nationally-coordinated and fully-funded programs offering the worker continual financial support through the resolution of his career crisis. Finally, mention must be made of the recent Rand report for the National Science Foundation which reviewed the prospects for adult career education in voluntary career change.[1] This study differs from the Rand report in its focus on involuntary, forced career change.

B. Organization of the Report

The report is divided into the following three major parts and subsections as outlined below:

Part I: The Mid-Career Crisis: Causes, Effects, and Resolution

- The Mid-Career Crisis in Context
- Causes of Mid-Career Crisis: The Nature of the Labor Market
- Effects of a Mid-Career Crisis: Benefits to Some But Economic Losses to Most
- Who and How Many are Affected by the Mid-Career Crisis?
- What Determines a Successful Resolution to a Mid-Career Crisis? Personal Characteristics, Local Labor Market Conditions and Mid-Career Strategies
- The Mid-Career Crisis from the Individual's Perspective: Psychological Response
- Summary and Conclusions

1. Pascal, Anthony H. et al. An Evaluation of Policy Related Research on Programs for Mid-Life Career Redirection, (prepared for the National Science Foundation, Rand Santa Monica, February, 1975).

Part II: Services for Mid-Career Crisis

Inventory of Selected Services
Description of Key Types of Services that have been Researched
Effectiveness of Services for Dealing with Mid-Career Crisis - What Services Make a Difference

Part III: Research and Development Strategies for Mid-Career Crisis

Research Strategies/Questions
-What are the long-term effects of a mid-career crisis?
-What is the extent of mid-career crisis in the economy?
-What are the implications of demographic changes and the current drop in demand for college education on mid-career crisis?
-What is the extent of age discrimination by employers?
-What is the role of psychological variables on the resolution of the crisis?
Development Strategies
-Community Based Adult Resource Center Demonstration Project

Appendix: Bibliography

This study was initiated by NIE with the following specific tasks in mind: a review of the literature on mid-career crisis and various intervention strategies, collection of a representative inventory of services currently available, development of a strategy and role for adult career education, and prioritizing and highlighting of an R&D strategy for NIE. Staff organization was designed to bring together the perspectives of employment counselors, labor and education economists, manpower analysts, and continuing education specialists.

The project was not designed to investigate new areas of research or to broaden the data base of the field. It was rather to develop a conceptual framework for adult career education in the mid-career crisis, to discuss the crisis from several different perspectives, to bring together the existing data and to highlight R&D strategies for NIE.

C. The Conclusions of this Study

As developed more fully in the text of the report, several major conclusions emerge.

--a mid-career crisis can be defined as a crisis of re-employment and the possible forced mid-life change of career. The crisis can be precipitated by an unexpected loss of work and a shortage of jobs in the local area which utilize the skills of the individual.

--the literature and data on the mid-career crisis are inadequate in several key respects. In particular, minimal data exists on the affected population or its numbers, or on the long-term effects of the crisis.

--a mid-career crisis will for most workers entail short-term economic and associated psychological disruption, unless we commit ourselves to a European solution of substantial income support and long-term education for the worker.

--current programs of assistance are piecemeal and uncoordinated. The experience of programs to date shows, as expected, minimal success at averting short-term losses to those individuals who are minimally qualified by objective standards to re-enter the labor force at previous levels of status and earnings.

--a successful program of adult career education must take into account the labor market and psychological factors in the crisis and therefore, include a combination of the following:

- -counseling
- -assurance of jobs following training
- -involvement of employers in the area

An initial caution should be inserted at this point in NIE considerations of recurrent and continuing education. While they may be successful and productive strategies for those who currently participate, they may not be as successful with those individuals experiencing a mid-career crisis. Recurrent education enrolls primarily working adults, "willing" participants, young adults, and those subsidized by a firm and/or secure in job opportunities at the end. In this case participants will be "unwilling", from an older age group, under considerable state of anxiety, unless money is coming in and there is an assurance of a job at the end, and there may not be any jobs in the local area. Finally, there is a shorter time-frame for the education program. All these differences point to considerable caution in the expectations of the effectiveness of adult career education strategies.

PART I: THE MID-CAREER CRISIS: CAUSES, EFFECTS AND RESOLUTION

The Mid-Career Crisis in Context

Public concern for what was seen as a growing social and economic problem of dislocation of workers came to a head in the late 1950's and early 1960's in the debate over federal legislation such as the Area Redevelopment Act and the Manpower Development and Training Act. Looking into the future, legislators, manpower planners, and the public alike saw increasing dangers of automation and technological shifts in the economy; masses of workers laid-off and thrust into a swiftly changing labor market and lacking saleable job skills; high unemployment rates and accompanying psychological and social disturbances. The legislation was designed to avoid these problems by a combination of programs of retraining, financial incentives for displaced workers to move to other areas of the country, and job counseling. In addition, one-time efforts to deal with closings of particular plants were often organized by local community organizations.

During the 1960's these federal retraining programs increasingly came to be focused on disadvantaged and minority groups, rather than the average worker. Partly this was a secondary effect of the pervasive Great Society thrust of aid to the disadvantaged in low-paying and unstable occupations. It also reflected a realization that problems of displacement did not materialize as feared for the average worker. Whether job displacement itself was infrequent, or whether skilled workers were easily rehired in new jobs was not really clear; the main result, however, was that public

demand was minimal for federal programs of retraining of other than the disadvantaged.

But the interest in displacement and mid-career change of skilled workers has surfaced onee again in recent years. Partly this accompanies the recent discussion about job satisfaction. If workers are unhappy in their current jobs and wish to try a different career and lifestyle, then they need retraining or adaptation of skills and counseling to a new job setting. Part of this reawakening interest in the mid-career job shift stems from a sense that to some extent the fears of the early 1960's are only now beginning to be realized. The projected changes in the labor market of the next few years are probable more likely to produce dislocation of middle-aged workers than were those of the 1960's.

While up to the 1960's economic dislocation of plant closings and industry decline seem to have affected primarily blue collar factory workers, through the 1960's white collar workers and professionals were also hit. The current high levels of unemployment among these groups demonstrate their increasing vulnerability to swings in the labor market. No longer are they immune from economic instability.

In addition, the 1960's were a time of an expanding labor force with large numbers of young workers from the baby boom generation as new entrants. Much of the shift in the distribution of employment was born by these young workers who were funneled into industries and occupations of expanding employment and away from those of declining importance. During this time

the middle-aged worker was by and large sheltered from large-scale layoffs. However, in the 1970's and 80's the young age group declines and there will be fewer new entrants to the labor market. As a result, the economic shifts and redistribution of employment may have to be born to a greater extent by the middle-aged worker.[1]

For these reasons, an understanding of the mid-career crisis and its resolution may be of greater importance in the near future.

Little Systematic Research on Mid-Career Crisis

While there was much fanfare in the early 1960's about the dangers of automation and obsolescence of skills, little systematic research has been done on the phenomenon and surprisingly little has been done since then. Much of the discussion about economic dislocation and its effects was based on general impressions and press reports of plant closings and projection into the future of even more such events. But the poignantly described examples, such as textile mills shutting down in depressed pockets of the Northeast or others, were rarely placed in the context of an economy-wide or long-term perspective. The worst economic and psychological consequences could be drawn in individual instances, but little balance was provided on the extent to which such displacement actually occurred, or on the long-run resolution of such events.

1. see Dresch, Stephen P. "Demography, Technology and Higher Education: Toward a Formal Model of Educational Adaptation," Journal of Political Economy (March/April 1975) for an analysis of demographic shifts.

For a topic so widely addressed by the general public, little systematic research has been done since then. In the following pages describing the mid-career crisis two sources of research material have been utilized, each imperfect in its own way. First, a series of case studies have been reviewed of closings of particular plants or of problems in particular occupational categories in specific local labor markets. Second, several national surveys of unemployment and work experience have been examined for relevant data. A complete bibliography of literature reviewed pertaining to mid-career crisis is included in the Appendix.

The case studies of closings of specific plants have over the years been primarily focused on the blue collar skilled and unskilled worker. Data was, for example, collected on the fate of several hundred workers laid off from a meat-packing plant in the Midwest. The work experience following layoff would be followed for at most a few years and then related to personal characteristics of the worker and various strategies for re-employment which he might undertake. In recent years several case studies have been made of laid-off middle management and scientists and engineers, particularly those affected by the sharp break in government spending in aerospace. This increasing attention to white collar and professional workers also undoubtedly reflects the increasing instability of those job categories in general.

Data is frequently collected on work experience and unemployment at the national level. However, these surveys fail to differentiate the source

or reason for unemployment, whether it be a firing for low job performance or a layoff due to a plant closing. In addition, it is not possible to trace the resolution of unemployment by the individual in more than the very short-term.

Another source of primary data on work experience and job mobility is the Department of Labor longitudinal survey conducted by Herbert S. Parnes.[2] While in this case, work experience of workers can be traced for up to five years, it is not possible to adequately distinguish those who are displaced by economic change from those laid-off for other personal reasons.

The descriptions of the mid-career crisis and its effects are therefore drawn from a piecing together of imperfect sets of data in case studies and national surveys of work history and unemployment. This mixing of available research and data has several important flaws which should be noted at this time: 1) it is not possible to clearly distinguish the displaced worker from among the unemployed in general in the national surveys. As a result the affected populations and their numbers cannot be clearly defined. 2) The case studies represent a limited share of the experience of the average American worker and their findings can only with caution be extrapolated to the labor force as a whole. 3) No research has been systematically done on the long-term (more than 5 years) effects of mid-career crisis. The extent of disruption on the individual's career can therefore not be measured in more than the short term.

2. U.S. Department of Labor. A Longitudinal Study of the Labor Market Experience of Men (directed by Herbert S. Parnes, Ohio State University).

Because data on the economic causes and consequences of a mid-career crisis is more accessible than social or psychological data, the economics of a crisis will be discussed first. The remainder of Part I is divided into the following sections:

Causes of Mid-Career Crisis: The Nature of the Labor Market

Effects of Mid-Career Crisis: Benefits for Some but Economic Losses to Most

Lack of Data on Long-Run Effects

Who and How Many are Affected by the Mid-Career Crisis

What Determines a Successful Resolution to a Mid-Career Crisis? Personal Characteristics, Local Labor Market Conditions and Mid-Career Strategies

The Mid-Career Crisis from the Worker's Perspective: Psychological Response

Summary and Conclusion

Causes of Mid-Career Crisis: The Nature of the Labor Market

A mid-career crisis results from the confluence of two major characteristics of the operation of our economy: on the one hand, the tendency of workers to specialize in skills and to settle into long-term employment with a single firm, and on the other hand, natural shifts in the distribution of employment and the resulting layoffs of workers among firms and industries. The shrinking of employment in an industry as a whole, or even the shut-down of one specific firm in a small local labor market, can precipitate the mid-career crisis, but the preference of the worker for long tenure on the job

both exacerbates the psychological trauma of his crisis and generally means that there will be few openings from him in the low-turnover labor market of middle-aged workers.

First is the tendency of the worker to specialize in skills and seek stable and long-term employment with a single firm. The young worker just out of school is likely to change jobs, and often careers, several times in search for better working conditions, higher wages, and a type of work he enjoys and is good at. But, as he reaches middle age, he is likely to settle down in one job. Perhaps he has risen to the highest position that he can given his background of training and his abilities. If this is the case, a sorting process may be in operation in the labor market which over time allocates workers into the jobs at which they are most productive and most satisfied. In 1965 the Parnes survey of 45-59 year old males showed that the mean length of time spent on the current job was 14 years. 50% of workers had been with their current firm for over 10 years.[3] (Table 1)

This stability of employment and lengthy tenure has advantages for both the employer and the employee. On the one hand, the backlog of firm-specific experience and dependable performance is a valuable asset to the company. By the time employees are 45-59 years of age, their prior formal education and training has fallen in importance relative to on the job skill development, familiarity and proven capability with the firm and

3. Parnes, Herbert S. et al. The Pre-Retirement Years: A Longitudinal Study of the Labor Market Experience of the Cohort of Men 45-59 Years of Age, Vol. I (Ohio State University, 1968).

Table 1 Length of Service in Current Job: Employed Men 45-59 Years of Age, by Color

(Percentage distribution)

Length of service (years)	WHITES	BLACKS	Total
Less than 1 year	10	14	11
1-2	7	8	8
3-4	7	9	7
5-9	13	12	14
10-19	26	29	26
20-29	23	21	22
30 or more	12	6	11
Total percent	100	100	100
Total number (thousands)	12,655	1,240	13,895
Median (1)	15.0	12.4	13.8

(1) Computed from grouped data.

Table 2 Attachment to Current Job as Measured by Reaction to Hypothetical Job Offers In and Outside Local Area: Employed Men 45-59 Years of Age, by Color

(Percentage distribution)

Reaction to hypothetical job offer	Job offer in local area		Job offer outside local area	
	WHITES	BLACKS	WHITES	BLACKS
Would accept at same or lower wage	12	12	8	6
Would accept for wage increase of less than 10 percent	4	4	1	1
Would accept for wage increase of 10-50 percent	25	30	12	11
Would accept for wage increase of more than 50 percent	8	10	12	17
Would not accept at any conceivable wage	44	38	59	56
Don't know	7	6	8	9
Total percent	100	100	100	100
Total number (thousands)	12,655	1,240	12,655	1,240

industry, and commitment and motivation to work in the interests of the firm.

From the worker's personal standpoint, such long-term employment also has advantages. The quest for job security and stability increases with age, as does the importance of family and other roots in the given geographical locale. The Yarnes survey of 45-59 year old men showed that 44% would refuse to change jobs, even for any conceivable salary increase (one clearly over 50%). 50% would refuse to change jobs for this increase if it involved moving to another area of the country. (Table 2)

This lengthy tenure on the job is not characteristic of all workers. 11% of 45-59 year olds, for example, have been with their current employer for less than a year. But much of this turnover occurs in occupations typified by short-term and unstable employment, such as in the construction industry or in labor and unskilled jobs. Curiously, as we shall see shortly, where turnover and unemployment are more common to the industry or job category, a mid-career crisis is less likely to occur. (Table 3)

The second major characteristic of the labor market which precipitates the mid-career crisis is the shifting in employment among industries. These shifts arise from the natural rise and fall in the public's demand for certain types of goods, technological innovation involving new job skills, the long-term shift from a manufacturing base in the economy to a service base and the closing of inefficient businesses. The following chart illustrates the changes in relative size of employment by major sector

Table 3 Proportion of Men with Tenure of 10 Years of More in Current Job, by Selected Employment Characteristics: Employed Men 45-59 Years of Age, by Color*

Employment characteristic	WHITES		BLACKS	
	Total number (thousands)	Percent with tenure of 10 or more years	Total number (thousands)	Percent with tenure of 10 or more years
Major occupation group				
White collar	5,069	62	190	62
Professional and technical	1,439	62	57	55
Nonfarm managers and proprietors	2,268	64	54	58
Clerical	678	71	59	81
Sales	684	47	19	37
Blue collar	5,659	59	723	56
Craftsmen and foremen	3,118	59	162	63
Operatives	2,038	63	319	62
Nonfarm laborers	540	46	242	44
Service	647	41	176	51
Farmers and farm managers	890	94	60	83
Farm laborers	207	37	73	40
Total or average	12,655	61	1,240	57
Major industry division				
Agriculture	1,118	83	143	58
Mining, forestry and fisheries	107	50	10	70
Construction	1,334	46	157	39
Manufacturing	3,815	66	352	66
Transportation and public utilities	1,198	76	131	68
Wholesale and retail trade	1,987	56	129	45
Finance, insurance, real estate	507	57	38	50
Service	1,618	47	184	45
Public administration	919	61	92	72
Total or average	12,655	61	1,240	57
Class of worker				
Wage and salary	10,109	58	1,004	55
Government	1,751	54	232	64
Private	8,358	59	860	53
Self employed	2,535	74	147	67
Unpaid family workers	3	0	0	0
Total or average	12,655	61	1,240	57

*Parnes, op cit.

from 1961 to the present. (Table 4)

Much of the shift in the distribution of employment over time is born by young entrants to the labor market. The natural attrition of retirement and failure to hire young replacement workers can shrink employment without resorting to major layoffs of middle-aged workers. Instead, high school or college graduates are disappointed in their career aspirations, or adjust them in the early years of their working experience. Current examples are the teaching profession or legal profession, where middle-aged workers are rarely laid off and the young bear the brunt of a shortage of jobs in those particular skill areas.

In extreme situations, however, the shrinkage of an industry or shutdown of a single firm requires the layoff of substantial numbers of middle-aged and long-term employees. This phenomenon can arise when an industry is severely disrupted, as was the case of space and aeronautics a few years ago. In some circumstances, a single firm will be forced out of business or will relocate to another area of the country. In either case the employee committed to a given locale may be faced with a mid-career crisis.

The closing of a plant need not precipitate a mid-career crisis for the workers who are laid off. If there are ample job openings in the local area utilizing comparable skills, then workers will be quickly re-hired. But these conditions do not always obtain. If the number of jobs using the workers' particular skills is shrinking, if there are few comparable jobs

Table 4

ESTABLISHMENT DATA
SEASONALLY ADJUSTED EMPLOYMENT*

B-4. Indexes of employment on nonagricultural payrolls, by industry division, 1919 to date, monthly data seasonally adjusted

[1967 = 100]

Year and month	Total	Goods producing				Service producing								
		Total	Mining	Contract construction	Manufacturing	Total	Transportation and public utilities	Wholesale and retail trade			Finance, insurance, and real estate	Services	Government		
								Total	Wholesale trade	Retail trade			Total	Federal	State and local
1961.....	82.1	85.2	109.6	87.8	84.0	80.4	91.6	83.1	84.9	82.8	84.7	75.9	75.4	83.8	72.8
1962.....	84.4	87.7	106.0	90.5	86.7	82.6	91.7	85.0	86.7	84.4	86.8	79.5	78.0	86.1	75.5
1963.....	86.1	88.5	103.6	92.4	87.4	84.8	91.6	86.6	88.1	86.1	89.2	82.4	80.9	86.7	79.1
1964.....	88.6	90.1	101.4	95.1	88.8	87.8	92.7	89.4	90.5	89.0	91.7	86.2	84.2	86.4	83.5
1965.....	92.3	94.0	103.1	99.3	92.9	91.4	94.7	93.5	94.0	93.3	93.7	90.0	88.4	87.5	88.7
1966.....	97.1	99.3	102.3	102.1	98.8	95.9	97.4	97.3	97.5	97.3	96.1	94.6	94.7	94.3	94.8
1967.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1968.....	103.2	101.8	98.9	103.1	101.7	103.9	101.2	103.6	102.4	104.0	104.8	105.2	103.9	100.7	105.0
1969.....	107.0	104.5	101.0	109.9	103.7	108.3	104.1	108.1	103.9	108.8	110.6	111.2	107.1	101.4	108.8
1970.....	107.7	101.0	101.6	110.2	99.5	111.3	105.7	110.5	106.3	111.3	114.3	115.1	110.2	100.4	113.3
1971.....	108.1	98.0	98.4	113.4	95.5	113.6	104.6	112.8	108.5	114.6	117.9	117.9	113.1	99.2	117.4
1972.....	111.9	101.2	101.5	119.4	98.2	117.8	106.0	117.4	111.9	119.6	122.3	122.7	117.0	98.7	122.8
1973.....	116.7	106.2	104.1	125.6	103.1	122.4	109.0	122.5	116.8	124.5	126.6	128.6	120.6	97.9	127.7
1974.....	118.9	106.8	109.4	124.2	102.9	126.0	110.3	125.0	120.8	126.9	129.0	133.7	125.3	100.2	133.2
Mar...	118.6	106.9	108.0	127.9	103.4	124.9	110.5	124.3	120.2	125.8	128.5	132.1	123.7	99.3	131.4
Apr...	118.8	107.0	108.9	127.4	103.6	125.2	110.4	124.5	120.6	125.9	128.8	132.4	124.2	99.5	132.0
May...	117.0	106.9	107.0	126.7	103.4	125.6	110.3	124.9	120.8	126.3	129.0	133.0	124.5	99.7	132.2
June..	119.1	106.8	109.1	124.5	103.8	125.8	110.3	125.2	120.9	126.7	128.9	133.6	124.6	99.9	132.3
July...	119.2	106.6	110.1	122.2	103.7	126.1	110.1	125.7	120.9	127.4	128.9	133.8	124.0	100.6	132.6
Aug...	119.4	106.4	110.9	121.6	103.4	126.6	110.3	126.0	121.2	127.6	129.2	134.4	125.7	100.8	133.5
Sept..	119.7	106.1	111.9	122.8	103.4	127.1	109.8	126.2	121.1	127.9	129.5	135.1	126.7	101.0	134.8
Oct...	119.8	105.7	112.9	121.9	102.8	127.5	110.3	126.1	121.6	127.7	129.8	135.7	127.5	101.1	135.8
Nov...	117.1	101.9	113.1	120.4	101.0	127.3	110.2	125.3	121.5	126.6	129.7	135.9	127.8	101.0	136.2
Dec...	118.0	101.9	108.0	118.4	98.5	127.0	109.6	124.3	121.0	125.4	129.7	136.0	128.0	100.7	136.5
1975:															
Jan...	117.1	99.7	114.2	118.1	96.1	126.8	108.1	123.9	120.1	125.2	129.4	136.1	128.4	100.5	137.1
Feb.p.	116.4	97.1	114.7	112.1	94.1	127.0	107.0	123.8	119.8	125.2	128.8	136.3	129.6	100.5	138.7
Mar.p.	115.9	96.0	115.3	108.8	93.1	126.8	106.4	123.5	119.5	124.9	128.6	136.0	129.9	100.6	139.1

p = preliminary.
NOTE: Data include Alaska and Hawaii beginning 1958. This inclusion has resulted in an increase of 212,000 (0.4 percent) in the nonagricultural total for the March 1958 benchmark month.

*Employment and Earnings, Vol 21, #10, 10 April 1975. (Bureau of Labor Statistics)

in other industries, and unemployment in general is high in the local area, then workers will face a mid-career crisis.

Effects of a Mid-Career Crisis: Benefits for Some but Economic Losses to Most

What happens to the worker comfortable in a long-term job suddenly laid off by forces beyond his control? It appears that while such layoffs can be a stimulus to upward mobility and higher earnings for a select few, on balance workers suffer both in economic and psychological terms, at least in the short-term. The effect of putting workers back into the labor market in middle age in general increases the spread, both up and down, of occupational mobility and earnings over the years following lay-offs. In particular:

--on balance workers move down the occupational status scale and achieve lower earnings than if they had remained with their firm

--some workers will benefit substantially from layoff. A higher percentage of laid-off workers move up the occupational status and earnings scales than do those remaining with a single firm

--some workers suffer serious losses from layoff. A higher percentage of laid-off workers move down the occupational status and earnings scales than do those remaining with a single firm.

The motivation of the worker to stay with a single firm now becomes more clear. Continued employment with a single firm assures steady increases in earnings and moderate increases in occupational status, while putting one-

self onto the job market in middle age entails substantial risk of downward mobility and loss of earnings. The increased chance of upward mobility is not enough to hazard the even greater risk of downward mobility. Whether or not the employee leaves the firm voluntarily or is forced to leave appears to make little difference; in either case he may stand to lose.[4]

The following statistics on occupational mobility from the Parnes survey illustrate the differential effects of a five-year period of staying with the same firm or changing employers during age 45-59. In the first instance, 16% of workers remaining in the firm move into an occupation of higher status, while only 11% move into one of lower status as measured on the Duncan scale. In contrast, 29% of those who change firms move up and 31% down the occupational scale. Not only is occupational mobility greater for workers leaving the firm, but the effect on balance is a loss of status.

OVER 5 YEARS[5]

	Upward mobility	downward mobility
With Same Firm	16%	11%
Other Firm	29%	31%

The effect on earnings of leaving a firm is similarly striking. Over a 5-year period all groups of workers increased their average earnings, but those remaining with a single firm moved up higher than those who were forced to change employers.

4. A variable representing voluntary or involuntary change has an insignificant effect in estimation of the probability of mobility; see Parnes, Herbert S. The Pre-Retirement Years, Vol. 4, (U.S. Department of Labor, 1975). pp. 133, 138.

5. Ibid., p. 308.

AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS [6]

	1966	1971
With Same Firm	$3.57	$5.01
Forced to Leave - New Firm	$3.60	$4.88

The differential effect on those in the same or a different firm who move down the occupational status scale is even greater. Those workers who for one reason or another are moved to job categories of lower status in the firm, nevertheless are cushioned in earnings by their long tenure in the firm. Among those who experienced downward occupational mobility, those within the same firm received 43.5% earnings increases over the five-year period, while those who changed employers only received 37.5% increases.[7]

The case studies of specific plant closings show similar results.[8] While a few fortunate workers advance in occupational status and earnings, the effect for the group as a whole is downward. Four case studies of blue collar workers found that one worker in ten took a job at a higher skill level. Yet about two out of every five reemployed workers are downgraded.

Displaced workers also received reduced wages in taking new jobs. Tire workers and meat packers, for example, reported wage reduction in 9 out of 10 cases. In other case studies, lower wages were received by one third to one half of reemployed workers.

6. Ibid., p. 105.

7. Ibid., p. 146.

8. Herbert Hammerman, Case Studies of Displaced Worker. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bull. No. 1408 (Washington, D. C.); John W. Dorsey, "The Mach Case: A Study in Unemployment." Studies in the Economics of Income Maintenance. Otto Echstein, ed. (Washington, D. C., 1967); Stern, James L. "Consequences of Plant Closure," Journal of Human Resources, Vol. 7 Winter, 1972.

Lack of Data on Long-Run Effects

While it is reasonably well established that in the short-run period of 1-5 years the bulk of displaced workers suffer in occupational status and earnings, the long-run effects are unclear. The data from either the individual case studies or the national surveys is inadequate to determine whether losses are short-term and are eventually recouped, or whether they represent a permanent disruption in career development. An argument could be made for either effect. On the one hand, it may be that as the worker lengthens his tenure in the new firm, he makes large advances in occupational mobility and earnings. Such an effect of tenure with the new firm appears in the Parnes survey. On the other hand, a disruption of such magnitude could conceivably set the worker back several years in his career development and forestall any further advancement in his later years.

The following diagrams illustrate these two possibilities in terms of what have been estimated as standard earnings curves over the worker's lifetime.[9] In general, the worker's earnings rise sharply in his early years in the labor force, reaching a plateau in his 40's to 60's. The height of the curve depends on his occupational choices, A or B, educational background and personal characteristics, and the plateau is reached at different ages as well. The effect of a mid-career crisis is to disrupt a smooth earnings curve and to push the worker back down to a lower curve. Over the long term it is not clear whether the worker eventually regains his earlier trend, or is permanently on a lower curve.

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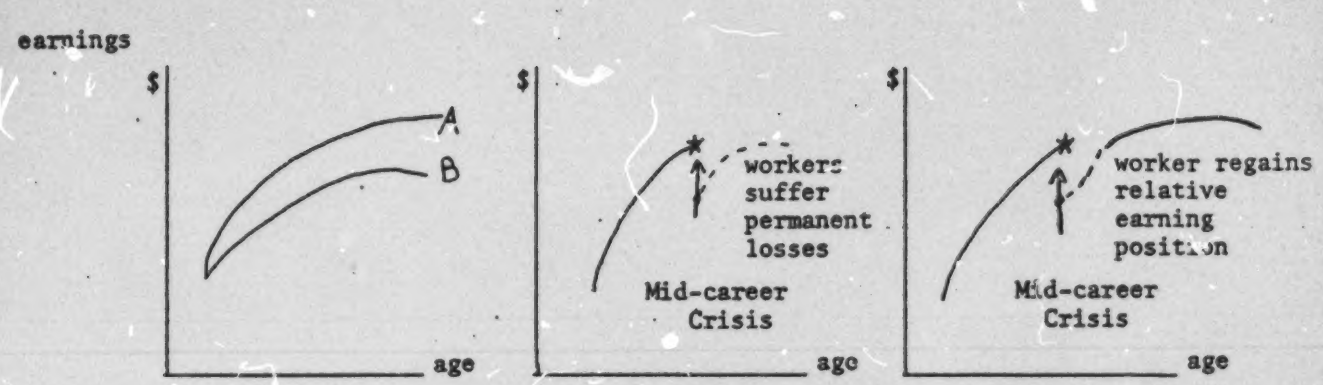
9. Giora Hanoch. "An Economic Analysis of Earnings and Schooling," The Journal of Human Resources, vol. II, no. 3. (Summer, 1967).



Who and How Many are Affected by the Mid-Career Crisis?

The case studies and national surveys of work experience are inadequate to pinpoint exactly who and how many workers are affected by a mid-career crisis, either in a given year or during the course of their lifetime. While the case studies identify specific individuals, they cannot be extrapolated to economy-wide numbers. On the other hand, the national surveys had other purposes than an analysis of displacement and mid-career crisis and do not adequately discriminate among the unemployed. It is not possible, for example, to determine the cause of a layoff, whether it be low productivity on the job by the particular individual, reshuffling of staff, or in fact a result of economic dislocation: closing of a plant, decline of an industry, etc. Once a layoff occurs, it is not possible to determine whether a mid-career crisis is precipitated, with all its disruption of family life and income. Therefore, a number of different methods have been used to estimate and isolate the mid-career crisis and a range of values are presented for each variable.

In general, the following propositions are suggested by the literature and data:[10]

--the likelihood that a mid-career crisis will occur upon layoff is greater for middle-aged and older workers than for younger workers; and is greater for higher status occupations than for lower status

--the number of workers affected each year is a small percentage of the total labor force - perhaps on the order of 1% (minimum .5% to maximum 2%)

--the likelihood of a mid-career crisis over the individual's lifetime is also quite low - perhaps 10-15%

Almost all studies show the problem of mid-career crisis to increase as the worker grows older. In almost all of the individual case studies of plant closings, middle aged and older workers are unemployed for longer periods of time than young workers, and suffer greater earnings losses than younger workers. Monthly unemployment figures corroborate this tendency; while[11] the unemployment rate falls from 7.8% for 25-34 years to 5.1% for 55-64 year olds, the mean time out of work rises from 13.3 weeks to 18.0 weeks.

These figures reflect the generally more stable employment patterns of older workers, but the greater likelihood of a mid-career crisis once that employment is disrupted. A variety of factors may contribute to the crisis: the specialization of skills involved in staying with a single firm over many years, the non-transferability of these skills to other firms, and finally the low turnover rate among older workers. The fact that turnover is so low implies that there will be few jobs open and a hesitancy to hire new, outside employees for those jobs. In addition discrimination by employers against hiring older workers may still exist in spite of the

10. (see next page)

11. Employment and Earnings, op cit., pp. 21, 31.

10. Data on number of people affected each year are estimated from the Parnes data. Over a 5-year period, 10.7% of the sample had involuntarily changed employers. If spread equally over 5 years, this would be equivalent to about 2.2% a year. However, 1974 unemployment figures show that only 22% have been unemployed for more than 15 weeks. Using this as an indication of a mid-career crisis, the percentage of those in crisis may be as low as .5% (.22 X 2.2%).

Assuming the mid-career crisis is more likely as the worker grows older that it may happen twice to the same person, the likelihood of being affected is probably no greater than 10-15%. Even if the ages most susceptible to a crisis are considered 35-50, and the rate is uniformly 1% per year, it would only affect 25% (.01 X 25). In the Parnes data 60% of workers had been with their firm for 10 years or more. Over half of those who changed would have done so voluntarily, which implies a figure of 15-20% maximum. (.40 X .4 or .5)

Sources: Parnes (1968) and Parnes (1975), Employment and Earnings, op cit.

equal employment opportunity regulations prohibiting it.

While it is not possible in the data to isolate specific occupational categories or the extent of mid-career crisis, several occupations have received a great deal of public attention. Recently the most discussed instances of crisis are the scientists and engineers laid off from the aerospace industry after it experienced a sharp drop in demand. Other current examples of industry or occupational decline have had a less dramatic effect on the middle-aged or older worker. As highlighted earlier, the primary decline in numbers of teachers, lawyers, and others has been among young workers who are deterred from entering the field of their choice. Layoffs of older workers need not result from this decline.

A brief review of the case studies of plant closings would seem to indicate that the primary problem of dislocation has in the past fallen on the lower status workers in the labor force: both skilled and unskilled. For many years the white collar worker and professional seemed immune from mid-career crisis. But the economy has changed and the data now appears to suggest that workers in higher occupational categories are in fact more susceptible to mid-career crisis than those in lower categories. The Parnes data shows a strong tendency for those in higher occupations to experience a greater likelihood of downward mobility following layoff.

Similar conclusions can be drawn from monthly unemployment data: while the unemployment rate for professional and technical workers was 1.8% in 1974 and for service workers was 6.1%, the percentage of the unemployed

rehired in less than 5 weeks was 31.9% of professionals and 51.7% of service workers.[12] To some extent these figures reflect the greater capacity for highly-paid workers to finance a lengthy job search. They also indicate the greater difficulty of being re-hired and the higher likelihood of a mid-career crisis.

What Determines a Successful Resolution to a Mid-Career Crisis? Personal Characteristics, Local Labor Market Conditions and Mid-Career Strategies

The data in both national surveys and case studies shows the wide distribution of effects of a layoff on the worker; encompassing both substantial upward and downward occupational mobility and earnings. As illustrated in the previous section, in general older workers and those in the higher levels of occupational status are more likely than others to suffer negative effects from dislocation.

What other factors determine the success or failure of resolution to a mid-career crisis? Before analyzing some of the key factors uncovered in the research, a "successful" resolution must be defined more clearly. The most desirable resolution is 1) quick re-employment at the same or a higher level of occupational status, earnings and job satisfaction. In many cases, this will not be possible. A second best, but successful resolution of unemployment, is 2) re-employment at a lower level of occupational status and/or earning. While this resolution involves downward mobility, at least in the short-term, it is preferable to the outcome of 3) continued

12. Employment, op cit. pp. 28, 32.

postponement of re-employment and the burdens on society for unemployment compensation, and for the individual and his family a period of economic and psychological stress.

The literature and analyses of data have been concerned with three interrelated factors affecting the crisis and its resolution: personal characteristics, local labor market conditions and mid-career strategies.

Personal Characteristics

-age
-sex
-race
-previous education
-training
-number
-marital status
-tenure on the job
-home ownership
-psychological traits
-occupation and earnings levels

These are among the personal variables which have been hypothesized to affect the success or failure of mid-career crisis resolution. Each of these variables might influence either the individual's response to the crisis, or his value to potential employers, or both.

Local Labor Market Characteristics

-unemployment rate
-industrial diversification
-market size

These are among the local labor market variables hypothesized to reflect the demand for the skills of the laid-off worker and receptivity to him by local employers.

Mid-Career Strategies

A number of laid-off workers will quickly find new jobs. For those with greater difficulty there are several labor market strategies to be considered:

-moving to another area of the country where jobs may be available
-accepting a new job utilizing someqhat different skills and at significantly lower pay
-a forced mid-life change of career and the low pay and investment in skills which that requires
-continued unemployment and postponement of resolution of the crisis
-drop-out or exit from labor force participation

Out of these myriad variables tested in the data, only a few consistently emerge as significant determinants of the successful resolution of the crisis: a younger worker is likely to be more successful than an older worker at resolving a crisis; a worker low on the occupational status scale more than one high on the scale; a highly-educated and trained worker more than a poorly-educated and untrained worker; a worker with many dependents; and a worker willing to be flexible in his job search and willing to move to another part of the country more than the inflexible.[13]

Not surprisingly these variables tend to be interrelated among individual persons. Two rough prototypes of workers emerge in the data: one likely to successfully resolve the crisis and the other likely to fail.

First, a young worker is more likely to successfully resolve a mid-career crisis. He is likely to be equipped with the key variables associated with success: starting from a lower occupational level his prior earnings

[13](see following page)

13. Parnes data showed previous education and occupational status of last job to be the key variables in occupational mobility.

Case Studies: the negative effect of age is substantiated by Haber and his review of 17 studies of job displacement, by Bain (aircraft workers), Mooney (scientists and engineers), and others; the advantages of moving to another part of the country, either on one's own or through interplant transfer are cited by Stern (meatpackers), Lipsky (Jell-o employees); that workers who rank low on the occupational status scale are more successful in gaining reemployment is reported by Bain. Workers in the following occupational categories had the shortest total unemployment: craftsmen, technicians, mechanics, machinists, male office supervisors, and the all-other office category; the influence of training and education on successful crisis resolution is discussed by Dyer. College educated workers were no more successful than the non-college educated in maintaining relative earnings when then became reemployed. Furthermore the more education the worker had the longer the period of unemployment. The positive influence of the number of dependents on rapid reemployment and less time between jobs is supported by Bain(aircraft workers) and Dyer (aerospace professionals and middle managers) although Bain reports the shortest duration of unemployment was experienced by workers with little seniority and no dependents.

are probably closer to his earnings potential with a new employer; his previous education and training is likely to be higher than that of older workers and therefore of greater value to employers; a greater burden of dependents will force him to take action quickly; and finally he is more likely to be flexibile in changing occupations and moving to other parts of the country. Employers may also prefer to hire younger workers who will stay with the firm over a longer period of time.

Second, an older worker is less likely to successfully resolve a mid-career crisis. He is on average hampered by each of these variables: starting from a higher occupational scale he may expect more in earnings than potential employers are willing to pay; his previous education and training are low; and finally he is less flexible in his willingness to change jobs or to move to other parts of the country.

Clearly, the greatest problem of mid-career crisis are found among older workers suffering from the disadvantages cited above. Personal characteristics such as low previous education or training stand in the way of re-employment. But, in addition the worker may have through seniority and long tenure with a single firm achieved a higher salary level than he can demand in the external labor market. For example, data has shown that scientists and engineers without formal degrees may advance far in a given firm, but if laid off suffer a loss of earnings potential in the marketplace for their lack of formal credentials.[14]

14. Mooney, Joseph D. "An Analysis of Unemployment Among Professional Engineers and Scientists," Industrial and Labor Relations Review. July, 1966, pp. 517-528.

An additional problem is the relative inflexibility of the older worker in response to a mid-career crisis. The hesitancy of older workers to move to another area of the country has been mentioned above. Older workers who have spent a long time in the local area have strong ties in the family and friends and they may be more willing than young workers to sacrifice job advancement. Following a layoff in Wichita, Kansas over 62% of workers under 40 moved away, while only 42% of those over 40 moved.[15] A survey of unemployed workers in the early 1960's found that while 35% of workers under 35 would refuse to move to get a job, 60% of those 60 and over would refuse.[16] Similar data has been presented from the Parnes survey.

Many older workers continue to postpone resolution of the crisis by either failing to find a job or being unwilling to accept a job at lower earning levels. As a result older workers tend to experience longer periods of unemployment once laid off. Ultimately some drop-out of the labor force entirely. Among non-participants in the labor force, being laid off from a job is cited by 10% as a major reason for not working.[17]

To some extent the postponement of re-employment by an older worker reflects his perception that with seniority he will be the first to be rehired if a firm has not shut down completely. More important, however, appears to be an unwillingness of older workers in particular to accept lower pay than their previous salary. While a young worker is likely to quickly accept re-employment, whether it be part-time, at lower occupational status or earning, the older worker stands back from the labor force and

15. Martin M. Perline and Ronald W. Presley, "Mobility of Unemployed Engineers: A Cast Study," Monthly Labor Review, Vol. 96, pp. 41-43, May 1973.

16. Irvin Sobel and Hugh Folk, "Labor Market Adjustments by Unemployed Older Workers," in Employment Policy and the Labor Market, ed. by Arthur M. Ross (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1965) pp. 333-357.

17. Parnes, op.cit., p. 181.

waits for a job to open up.[18] The flexibility of the young worker may be forced upon him by the necessity to support his dependents and by a poor asset position. From the perspective of society, however, the burden of unemployment compensation and loss of labor input is greater for the worker who postpones re-employment. General social malaise may also be greater with more workers out of a job.

Finally, the older worker may face discrimination in hiring from employers. Equal employment opportunity regulations by age have not yet been as rigorously enforced as by sex and minority status. The employer may continue to reflect a prejudice against the older worker in spite of objective standards of prior training and work experience. In addition, however, he may be deterred by the higher previous earnings of older workers, in comparison with younger workers coming from similar job positions.

Discrimination by employer against women or employees seeking re-employment does not appear to be pronounced. While women stay out of the labor force longer following a lay-off, this may be explained by their greater financial security with a working husband. The process of layoff and re-employment does not appear to hurt minority workers to any greater extent than would be predicted on the basis of their lower levels of education and training.[19]

Factors with No Proven Impact on the Crisis

Of equal interest are the variables which do not appear to have a substantial effect one way or the other on the success of the resolution

18. William F. Barnes, "The Willingness of Unemployed Jobseekers to be Occupationally Flexible Downward or to be Retrained," Quarterly Review of Economics and Business, 14:2, Summer 1974, pp. 75-84; Sobel and Folk, op. cit.
19. See Parnes, p. 141.

of the crisis. In particular, retraining, local labor marker conditions, and individual psychological traits (at least as tested to date) appear to have no significant effect on job success following a layoff.

These results have clear implications for the design of services to aid the laid-off worker in a mid-career crisis and are discussed in more depth in Part II. In terms of prospects for recurrent education as an intervention strategy in the crisis, the finding that retraining has no apparent effect is crucial. The training programs which workers utilized were probably of short duration and in lower skill areas, and therefore, unlikely to have a substantial impact on re-employment. In any case, however, the data provides no support for a training program as a primary intervention strategy in mid-career crisis.

The Mid-Career Crisis from the Individual's Perspective: Psychological Response

In previous sections a heavy emphasis has been placed on the labor market processes involved in mid-career crisis. To some extent this focus reflects what data is currently available and what is relatively easy to measure. In the process, however, we have failed to consider the implications for the worker and his family of a severe disruption in career.

In this section we turn to the mid-career crisis from the individual's perspective and attempt to assess the impact on self-perception and family life. The literature is even less developed than that dealing with

economic variables, in particular because the field of psychology has examined mid-life issues on an individual case basis rather than aggregated across the population as a whole. In addition, less attention has been devoted to examining the effects of external stimuli such as career crisis on the individual.

Several themes can be developed, however, from the few case studies which included psychological variables and from the Parnes survey which included a measure of internal/external control:

--a mid-career crisis and extended unemployment can produce a deterioration in self-concept and perception of the ability to control ones life

--extreme forms of mental illness can in a small number of cases be triggered by a mid-career crisis

--such psychological reactions have less to do with the individual's absolute level of earnings or assets and more to do with the relative loss of status

--psychological reactions may affect the extent to which the individual searches for a job, but

--in general personal psychological characteristics appear to have minimal impact one way or the other on the success of resolution of the crisis.

The literature and data produce an interesting picture of the relationships of the labor market to the worker's personal attitudes. While economic status has a strong and direct impact on a person's self-perceptions and views, differences among individuals appear to make little difference on prospects for re-employment. Therefore attempts to ease the psycholocical impact of the crisis, while having validity in their own right, might not be the most effective means of helping the worker to find re-employment.

Psychological Impact of a Mid-Career Crisis

A number of studies establish the impact of a mid-career crisis on the individual worker. Interviews with unemployed scientists and engineers clarified several stages in reaction to a crisis: I, a period of relaxation and relief; II, of concerted effort: III, of vacillation and doubt, and IV, of malaise and cynicism. Reaching the last stage may take as long as 15 months and the worker may be rehired in what he perceives as a good job at any point in this process. The extent to which he prolongs unemployment, however, generally reflects his resistance to taking a job with lower status and/or pay.[20]

Several other studies demonstrate the extent to which prolonged unemployment following a layoff leads to less confidence about ability to control what happens. The Parnes study developed a measure of internal/external control reflecting "the degree to which an individual perceives success as being contingent upon personal initiative." Over a period of two years workers reacting to lack of upward mobility or to layoff were more likely than others to develop external outlooks, ie, less confidence in the effect of initiative.[21]

A study of unemployed workers showed that older workers in particular perceive getting a job to be more dependent on "luck" or "pull" than on

20. Douglas H. Powell and Paul F. Driscoll, "Middle-Class Professionals Face Unemployment," Society, January/February 1973, pp. 18-26.
21. Parnes, op. cit., p. 219.

objective qualifications. Undoubtedly this perception heightens as the period of unemployment grows longer.[22]

The hypothesis that a mid-career crisis or unemployment can trigger mental illness such as schizophrenia in a select few has been recently developed in a book by a Johns Hopkins psychologist, Dr. M. Harvey Brenner. Taking an approach that external conditions might create the kinds of stress that will overwhelm the person with previously dormant character traits, he analyzed the relationship between rates of new mental illness cases and economic conditions. Psychological problems clearly increased during recessionary and depression periods. Other evidence was presented to the effect that absolute income or assets was not as important as relative status and the drop in occupation or earnings.[23]

Other studies show that unemployment or a mid-career crisis is most disruptive the first time it happens. Workers who have previously experienced a layoff are likely to resolve their crisis more quickly by accepting lower-paid jobs than are others. While workers with 10 or more years of service with their prior employer comprise only 26% of the unemployed 45-59 year old whites, they comprise 67% of those unemployed for 15 weeks or more.[24]

22. Sobel, op. cit., p. 352.

23. M. Harvey Brenner, Mental Illness and the Economy (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973).

24. Parnes (1968), op. cit., p. 93.

The Effect of Psychological Variables on Re-employment

The data collected and analyzed to date indicate that, barring extreme cases, the psychological or personal variables of the individual or his reaction to a crisis appear to have little effect on the success of resolution of the crisis. While the psychological impact of a crisis may be substantial, it need not interfere substantially with eventual re-employment.

The Parnes data, for example, shows that in general workers in the labor force with internal outlooks were "not...less prone to unemployment than comparable externals, nor were they more likely to advance in terms of occupational status or average hourly earnings."[25] The lack of any such statistical relationship may be a result of inadequate data, but it also suggests that the role of psychological variables is less than that of objective characteristics such as education or training.

An analysis of unemployed meatpackers showed that social-psychological characteristics such as anomie, self-concept, sociability and personal problems had no direct impact on the likelihood or success of re-employment.[26]

Summary and Conclusion

The main elements of a mid-career crisis, its causes, effects, and resolution, have been presented as pieced together from the existing

25. Parnes (1975), op. cit., p. 211-212.

26. James L. Stern, Kenneth A. Root, and Stephen M. Hills, "The Influence of Social-Psychological Traits and Job Search Patterns on the Earnings of Workers Affected by a Plant Closure," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, October 1974.

disparate and sketchy research. While additional and more comprehensive research may alter some elements of this analysis the following propositions are put forward on a preliminary basis:

First, a mid-career crisis can be constructive for some people, leading to occupational mobility upward, increased earnings and job satisfaction. However, on balance for most workers laid-off, the response to the crisis will entail substantial economic and psychological losses, at least in the short-term.

Second, the successful resolution of the crisis seems to depend more on objective characteristics such as age or previous education of the worker than it does on his psychological response or on his job search methods. One exception is the flexibility he has for moving to another area of the country or accepting a job with lower earnings, at least in the short-term.

For individuals who have worked their way up the ladder of seniority and who do not have formal education and training credentials such downward flexibility may be required for re-employment. For these workers a mid-career crisis may necessarily involve loss of status and income.

Services to the worker designed to alleviate the mid-career crisis are discussed in more detail in Part II. In general, the objective characteristics of the individual seem to be more crucial than any particular service program. Mid-career training, for example, has not as yet proved an effective

strategy for the mid-career adult. However, new combinations of service delivery and additional research may prove otherwise.

Finally, the implication of these findings is that as a society we may have to accept in principle the inevitability of mid-career crisis and its economic and psychological consequences. In this context, the strategies of several European countries provide an interesting example. France, Sweden, and others have responded to the crisis phenomenon with income support and long-term education programs for career redirection. Recognizing that the crisis will entail economic losses of unemployment, they provide unemployment compensation and tuition stipends out of a general fund of employee payments. Education programs are of fairly lengthy duration to prepare workers for other highly skilled occupations.

PART II: SERVICES FOR MID-CAREER CRISIS

This section is devoted to a discussion of the services that have been available to people forced out of work and especially those services directed at workers suffering a mid-career crisis. Over a period of years a range of programs were developed as intervention strategies to ameliorate the impact of the mid-career crisis. A selective inventory of these follows. Given the constraints of available information, illustrative models of services, rather than a comprehensive listing, are provided. Secondly, the key types of services are described with particular attention to those programs that have been researched in the literature. Finally, the evaluative literature assessing the different services is reviewed to determine which make a difference in dealing with a mid-career crisis.

Illustrative Sample

Inventory of Types of Services Currently Provided

Non-Profit Voluntary

Name	Target Audience	Services
New England Volunteer Engineers, Scientists, and Technicians (NEVEST)	Engineers, Scientists, Technicians, Educators	Job Search counseling Teams go to companies to match jobs available with members' skills ---Workshops on job search techniques Role play interviews ---Individual counseling on resume preparation
Association of Technical Professionals (ATP)	Engineers, technical personnel	Develop job opportunities Counseling unemployed individuals Form self-help groups Counsel on resume preparation and interview strategy
40+ clubs (8 cities)	Open to those forty years or older, unemployed, seeking employment, making an average of at least $12,000-15,000 for the preceding five years and able to pass a screening test	Manned by members, paying no salaries, supported by initiation fees and monthly dues of members, Group counseling Workshops in job search services
Experience Unlimited (20 cities)	Unemployed professionals	Self help format providing group counseling and job search techniques.

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Name	Target Audience	Services
Regional Learning Service of Central New York	Adults contemplating or executing a career change	Career and educational counseling Career planning and job seeking skills
Stony Brook Mid-Career Counseling Center, New York	Middle-aged, county residents	Counseling, referral, education
Providence Career Education Project	Home-based; not full-time worker or student	Telephone counseling, referral
Roanoke Social Service Bureau--Job orientation and motivating program	Clients of all ages	Group counseling to help clients focus on the main obstacles to their employment
Hartford Capitol Higher Education Services	Adult student	Counseling, testing, referral, advocacy
Department of Labor Employment Service	Unemployed state residents	Job and training referrals Proficiency and aptitude testing

Profit-Making

Name	Target Audience	Services
Bernard Haldane Associates, Inc.	Adults	Counseling, job search techniques
The Mid-Atlantic Career Center, Washington, D. C.	Adults	Individual or group sessions for adults facing career problem or decision
Career Information Service, Oakland, California	Adults	Vocational assessment, analysis of vocational potential, exploration of the world of work, identifying the occupational step-ladder and projected trends in different fields

Educational Institutions

Name	Target Audience	Services
Community Colleges	Adults	Testing; extensive educational and occupational information
External Degree Programs	Adults	Education to enhance an individual's present occupational status and assist in the development of a second career

Name	Target Audience	Services
Companies	Employees	1. early retirement for long-term employees 2. help for younger individuals in relocating to other branches of the company 3. help in relocating into similar work - out placement programs 4. emergency councils planned to help the individual deal in his own or his family's problems 5. revise pension rules to provide additional funds to employees terminated
Professional Societies	Professional Membership	Job banks, counseling, workshops in job search techniques, short course for jobless members.

University Consultants, Inc.

What Services Have Been Provided to Aid in the Crisis

In general the range of services for unemployed workers has been based on either of two assumptions. First, that skills conversion and retraining are required to get workers employed. Second, that jobs are available in some sector of the economy if the worker has the correct job-finding skills. (In Part I, the pros and cons of these assumptions are discussed.) That is, the system will work things out by itself with the aid of certain programs designed to remove barriers to employment. Outlined below are the main intervention strategies that have been attempted in the past as well as those still in operation.

People forced out of work make certain choices in order to attain re-employment. In many cases, programs have been developed to facilitate these choices. The major choices open to the unemployed person are moving to an area where there are jobs, seeking retraining, receiving counseling, or learning about successful job-finding techniques.

Many of the skills conversion and retraining porgrams inventoried below were components of the Technology Mobilization and Reemployment Program. This program, TMRP, was federally financed and administered by the Department of Labor. The program was begun in 1972 and was intended to encourage full utilization of scientific, engineering and technical talents. The TMRP skills conversion project was conducted by a consortium of severn major engineering societies. Fourteen teams of scientists and engineers researched over 20 growth industries in government operations

which resulted in identifying 14 key fields which would offer 6,000 engineering and scientific jobs within one year and up to 55,000 jobs by the end of 1975. Some 150 unemployed professional were mobilized into these study teams in 14 cities with critical unemployment porblems to work with employers to help define their short- and long-term needs for engineers and other technically trained professionals. The study was completed in the spring of 1972. The 14 fields in which the unemployed professional could work ranged from health care and transportation to occupational safety. The major recommendation called for short-term supplementary education to prepare professionals for a rapid transition to new career fields.

Out of this recommendation two programs were developed. The Technology Utilization Project sent engineers back to college for concentrated short-term education to prepare them for selected career fields. Under the TUP program, pilot projects were established at eight colleges and universities in Washington, Oregon, California, and Georgia to reeducate 320 engineers for employment in eleven fields through courses lasting 2 to 12 weeks.

A TMRP program offering on-the job training was called the Presidential Internships in Science and Engineering Program administered by the National Science Foundation. The two-year program, which ran through the end of 1973, employed young scientists and engineers with advanced degrees for one year in federally funded projects around the country. The purpose was to broaden their work experience, to facilitate their transition to future jobs in other areas of the economy.

Another retraining effort made outside TMRP also was intended to help unemployed aerospace workers. This program was a 1.2 million dollar research and development project funded by the Manpower Administration and the Department of Housing and Urban Development, to determine whether aerospace professionals could be put to work in state and local government with short-term orientation and on-the-job training. It was called the Aerospace Employment Project, AEP, and was conducted by the National League of Cities, the U. S. Conference of Majors, Inc. It got underway in the spring of 1971. This HUD-sponsored program to turn aerospace and defense engineers into city specialists initially retrained 200 engineers in special six-week courses given at MIT and at Berkeley.

A number of engineering and scientific professional societies sponsored short-term retraining programs. The American Chemical Society was especially active in this effort and also sponsored clinics dealing with job finding techniques.

Services which provide information exchange and job-finding techniques are discussed next. Information exchange programs attempt to match job descriptors and capabilities descriptors more efficiently so that potential employers might do more hiring. One example of this placement effort was that sponsored by NASA's Manned Spacecraft Center for employees that were faced by reduction in force plans. An out-placement center was established to counsel the affected employees before they were out the door.

The system of work-finding cooperatives called VEST, Volunteer Engineers, Scientists and Technicians,is an example of a program stressing job search and development of job opportunities. The VEST program is based on a successful Los Angeles version called Experience Unlimited. The program uses facilities and phone provided by state employment services and receives the support of the Department of Labor. The VEST self-help groups assist state employment services in identifying local job openings and providing matching services. The members of these organizations canvas employers and actively attempt to sell the talents of other unemployed scientists and engineers like themselves. The unemployed workers could be much more effective than professional recruiters in presenting the case of their colleagues from a personal perspective. Furthermore, the unemployed workers were exposed to the range of jobs available and those that were appropriate for technical people. Some local organizations which provide job search services include the 40 Plus Club in Los Angeles and the Association of Technical Professionals in the Greater Boston Area.

Workshops and clinics providing advice on job finding techniques have been sponsored by several groups. The TMRP program, for instance, held workshops in more than 50 cities serving more than 20,000 engineers. Engineers, scientists, and technicians have been counseled in career analysis, resume preparation, job search and interview techniques.

The VEST programs also provided assistance in resume preparation and development of interview strategies. The Association of Technical Professionals in the Greater Boston Area provided instruction in a similar range of job-finding techniques.

Another service provided to unemployed workers is a program of mobility incentives. These relocation grants facilitate migration in response to the dynamics of the labor market. The government's TMRP allocated $5 million of its $42 million for travel to interview and $10 million for moving expenses ($500 for interview trip that meets the criteria and 80% of moving expenses up to $1,200).

The Regional Learning Service of Central New York in Syracuse, New York has been operating a career and educational counseling experience for adults contemplating or executing a career change. The RLS deals with elective as well as forced career change. The adult clients pay a registration fee of $15 for three months of consulting services. The Learning Consultant or counselor usually meets with the client for eight to ten sessions plus numerous phone calls throughout the period. Further counseling beyond the initial three months is available for a $10 renewal fee. In addition to providing individual counseling, the RLS has also sponsored workshops intended to aid in the development of career planning and job seeking skills. One series of workshops was aimed directly at the

population affected by forced unemployment. The General Electric Corporation contracted with RLS to conduct three session workshops for terminated technical and engineering employees.

The Providence Career Education Project funded by the National Institute of Education is a pilot service testing the home-based career education model. Career counseling is provided exclusively over the telephone by trained paraprofessional counselors to anyone sixteen or older who is not working or attending school full-time and who is not actively seeking full-time work right away. The career counseling services include: assessment of interests and capabilities, information about expanding occupational fields, education or training requirements for different fields, and information about training and education resources and other supportive services.

What Services Make a Difference? What Not?

This discussion of the effectiveness of the various services and intervention strategies will lead to recommendations for further research and program demonstration in Part III.

There are five studies, Allen (1972), Olsen (1972, 1973), Shapero (1972), and Sweeney (1973) which assess the effectiveness of the various programs for aiding unemployed engineers and scientists.[27] Each of these studies concluded that the technical training programs have been failures. However, programs that have stressed information exchange and job-finding techniques have proved highly effective. The major problem with the studies that attempt to assess the training programs is the exclusive utilization of placement rates as the criterion of success. The placement rates cited are usually descriptive of the early stages of the program and rarely of the experience over a longer period. A better evaluation scheme would be to compare the relative wage gains achieved by graduates of these training programs with a control group of engineers who found jobs without completing a training program. Ideally, the groups of trainees studied would vary by age and other personal characteristics and include graduates of different types of programs. Furthermore, it would be helpful in assessing the different programs to know the cost breakdowns associated with each one.

1. T. L. Allen, "Aerospace Cutbacks: Impact on the Companies and Engineering Employment in Southern California," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, August, 1972.

Marvin Olsen, Retro Phase I, Training Implementation and Placement Report, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, November 1, 1972; Retro Phase II, Training Implementation and Placement Report, September 30, 1973.

Albert Shapero, "Making the Technical Unemployed Productive Again," Innovation, May, 1972, pp. 38-49.

Joan Sweeney, "Retraining in Aerospace -- a New Problem," Los Angeles Times, June 30, 1973, p. 1.

Two of the components that developed out of the Technology Mobilization and Reemployment Program were fairly successful.[28] The Technology Utilization Project reeducated engineers for employment in other fields. At the end of the pilot phase, all 328 participants were retrained and within one month, some 260 or 80% had been placed in jobs, mostly in the private sector, at salaries ranging from $9,000 to $21,000 annually. The project was confined to younger professionals.

The Presidential Internships in Science and Engineering Program enabled almost one thousand scientists and engineers to get experience in different work settings and to successfully find new employment in other areas of the economy.

The Aerospace Employment Project jointly funded by the DOL Manpower Administration and the Department of Housing and Urban Development to place aerospace professionals in governmental jobs after a short orientation session coupled with on-the-job training. After the program had been underway nine months, only one third of the initial group of 200 engineers had found jobs ranging from president of a junior college to air polution controller, indication that a vast market waiting for this new source of manpower did not exist. (Kinn, 1973, p. 50). Throughout the life of the program, about 300 people were placed in jobs, 65% in public sector positions such as mass transit engineer, air pollution engineer, and director of public works. However, this course was not intended to provide the former aerospace workers with new job skills. It was mainly an

28. John M. Kinn, "Unemployment and Mid-Career Change: A Blueprint for Today and Tomorrow," Industrial Gerontology, Spring 1973, pp. 47-59.

orientation to city government and was predicated on the assumption that engineering skills were easily transferable to the urban management context without any retraining.[29]

The record of success with longer programs training aerospace engineers and scientists for more specific careers was no better. Those programs which did attempt to provide new skills to the trainees were flawed in that they were not directed toward any actual job vacancies.[30] After a 16-week retraining program in pollution management, only about 8% of the enrollees were able to find jobs in their new field. The first university project to turn out former aerospace engineers with masters degrees in environmental engineering was bogged down in gloom half-way through the program because of the depressing prospects for its students. The Government's TMRP with $25 million allocated for retraining had 13,342 enrolled at the start. Three months later it had placed fewer than 300 of the registrants.

Retraining programs have been unsuccessful mainly because of poor program design and strong resistance on the part of employers to hiring former aerospace workers. Age discrimination was also a factor limiting the opportunities for career transfer among this population. Retraining efforts are hampered by the fact of a tight labor market which means that even with a newly acquired skill, workers are not guaranteed what they would consider equivalent professional employment.

29. Jerome Ziegler, "Retraining Engineers into Urban Specialists," Change in Higher Education, Winter, 1971-72, pp. 18-20.
30. Allen, op. cit., pp. 250-251.

Allen has hypothesized that part of the explanation for the substantial failure rate of retraining programs is the nature of labor market information systems.[31] Workers attempting to make career changes are especially vulnerable where such systems are operating. The value of retraining, in particular, is diminished when job leads are transmitted through informal networks.

In the out-placement center established at NASA's Manned Spacecraft Center, 228 terminated employees were counseled, of whom 185 registered with the out-placement service. The four-month NASA effort resulted in 77 placed, of which more than one-third were scientists and engineers. Of the 77 who found jobs, 50 were placed with the federal government and only 22 went to industry. An additional 16 went back to attend graduate school full-time. No follow-up was done on the success of the terminated employees who did not register with the out-placement center.

The cooperative work-finding approach, particularly the VEST program, has been one of the few programs that has shown some possibilities. Within two months of being established, a VEST group placed 10 to 20 of its original members in good jobs, both technical in nature and ranging up to $25,000 a year in salary. These programs stressing job search and development of job opportunities as well as workshops and clinics providing advice on job-finding techniques have proved very helpful to displaced workers.

31. Allen, op. cit., p. 2.

The ineffectiveness of the information services provided by public employment services is generally acknowledged. However, the special offices established to assist unemployed technical and professional workers did have an impact, especially in workshops offering information services and in many cases did lead to successful placements of aerospace workers in other jobs.[32]

Efficient information services were also sponsored by professional societies with government financial support. They too had a successful placement result.

The underlying assumption of the TMRP mobility incentive program was that mobility is substantially enhanced if the economic cost is minimized. However, very few unemployed engineers and scientists took advantage of these grants. Provision of economic incentives was not an effective strategy because it neglected to take account of the psychological barriers to mobility.

32. Allen, op. cit., pp. 252-253.

PART III: RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES FOR MID-CAREER CRISIS

The current state of knowledge about the mid-career crisis, its causes, effects, and resolution and the range of current services and their effectiveness have been presented in Parts I and II. These sections were based on a review of the literature on mid-career crisis and various intervention strategies, collection of a representative inventory of services currently available, and discussion among employment counselors, labor and education economists , manpower analysts, and continuing education specialists.

Many of the conclusions of the report have been based on a piecing together of disparate material from a range of studies bearing directly or indirectly on mid-career crisis. In general, however, the research on the crisis is inadequate to make firm recommendations about long-term policy in the area. In the following two sections a series of recommendations for the direction of research and demonstrations is developed. Such efforts are a necessity before substantial new programs are developed.

Research Strategies

In Part I the inadequacies of research bearing on mid-career crisis have been highlighted; the difficulty of distinguishing the displaced worker from the unemployed in general; the limited experience of case studies, the lack of long-term data on the effects of the crisis. In addition, it became apparent that while some of the causes and effects of a mid-career crisis could be loosely outlined, the exact relationships of the worker to the labor market were not clear. For example, it is not possible to discriminate among hypotheses to explain the difficulty of re-employment of older workers, whether it be primarily their own unwillingness to accept new jobs, age discrimination by prospective employers, or advancement on a previous job to a salary level which is unsupportable in the external labor market. Finally, certain variables, such as psychological tendencies, may not have appeared to be influential in the resolution of the crisis only because they have been so poorly measured in the past.

Therefore, a series of research questions should be addressed as outlined below:

--what are the long-term effects of a mid-career crisis? While the Parnes survey will be continued over the next few years, we still must wait for another five years to be able to ascertain the effect of mid-career crisis up to ten years after. In addition, the Parnes data is limited to a sample of men who in the base year were 45-50. An immediate research project might be a retrospective survey of work experience in the population, covering experiences over the entire working life, and including a broad range of age groups, occupations, etc. Variables such as willingness to

to move to other areas of the country, wages before and after a layoff, interruption of career development, job satisfaction, psychological tendencies and others should be included.

What is the extent of mid-career crisis in the economy? One of the difficulties in all of the discussions of mid-career crisis, from the late 1950's onward, is the imprecision of knowledge about the extent of crisis in the economy. Individual case studies could not be extrapolated to the economy as a whole. In addition, much of the shifting in employment among sectors was born by new young entrants to the labor force. An analysis, therefore, of shifts in employment, age distribution of employment and layoffs by industry would help to illuminate the extent of the crisis --regionally, occupationally, and by industry. Data from retrospective work histories would provide another source of data.

What are the implications of demographic changes and the current drop in demand for college education on mid-career crisis? The labor force may change substantially as fewer young entrants enter over the next twenty years. An analysis of the projected impact of such shifts might illuminate the likely occupations and industries where mid-career crisis will be most likely to occur. The analyses and projections of the labor market and acquisition of skills of S. Dresch and R. Freeman are examples of this type of analysis. [1]

1. Stephen P. Dresch, and Richard Freeman, The Market for College-Trained Manpower (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971).

What is the extent of age discrimination by employers? It is unclear what role hiring practices of employers have on the greater difficulty of older workers in finding re-employment at acceptable wage levels. Any program to aid in the re-employment of displaced workers must also take into consideration the needs and likely reactions of employers. A series of interviews, survey data collection, and review of literature on firm hiring and promotion practices (such as in the work of P. Doering or M. Piore) would illuminate the role of employers in the crisis.

What is the role of psychological variables on the resolution of the crisis? In the past the psychological response to a crisis has not proved to be crucial in its resolution, perhaps because variables have been measured poorly. A series of interviews with employers, laid-off workers and psychologists, data collection by survey, and review of psychological literature would provide another source of information on these variables. Perhaps new measurement techniques have been developed which could in the future be incorporated into analyses.

Development Strategies

Community-Based Adult Resource Center (ARC) Demonstration Project

The literature has shown quite clearly that the needs of individuals who are facing an adult career crisis are psychological and economic in nature, as well as educational. Some form of retraining or additional education may be indicated for some individuals, but the majority can be placed directly into new work situations without such auxiliary help. The key word here is auxiliary. The real need of people who are experiencing career crisis is for help in formulating plans and clarifying goals. The way to meet this need is to develop a system that links individuals in need with available resources (of which additional education may be one, but only one, resource).[2]

The process of helping people clarify goals and develop strategies for the implementation of those goals is one of career guidance and counseling, not career education. If the K-through-A program of career education advocated by Marland and Hoyt[3] is adopted throughout this country, and if that program carries with it an acknowledgement that career development, career guidance and counseling, and job placement and follow-up are the proper responsibilities of the educational system, then there may be no need to study adult career crises and intervention processes forty

2. G. J. Nolfi and V. I. Nelson, Strengthening the Alternative Postsecondary Education System: Continuing and Part-time Study in Massachusetts (Cambridge, Mass.: University Consultants, Inc., 1973). See especially the role of the proposed Service Area Planning Boards and Community-Based Counseling Centers in coordinating employers and educational institutions to meet local needs, pp. 145-149.
3. Sidney Marland, Career Education: A Proposal for Reform (New York, 1974); Kenneth B. Hoyt, "An Introduction to Career Education," (November 1, 1974).

years from now. In the meantime, however, the problem of adult career guidance must be developed which will serve to fill the gap in existing services until such time as the crisis intervention approach is no longer needed.

A basic problem in considering adult career education as an intervention strategy in mid-career crisis is that, for the most part, the individuals in need of help are those traditionally outside the formal educational system. There is ample evidence (documented) that educators (administrators and teachers) are as concerned with serving and maintaining the system (their own jobs) as they are with serving the students whom the system is designed to serve. Because the only world-of-work they know is an educational one, educators often tend to think of career crises of other workers in educational terms -"perhaps it would help if they could be brought back into the system in some way (i.e., go back to school) so that they might acquire some skills that would hlep them solve their own problems."

One possible approach to the current problem is to place adult career development and guidance in a community-based setting.[4] Community-based guidance programs for adults, while drawing on the resources of nearby educational institutions, would be independent of control by these schools. They would be open to any and all clients in the community, so that those who are outside the educational system would have somewhere to go for help. The community-based counselors and staff would be free to act as educational

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4. Nolfi, 1973, op.cit. See especially the proposed Area-Based Educational Opportunity Center which would provide academic and vocational counseling and plan course offerings in relation to job market opportunities, pp. 87-89.

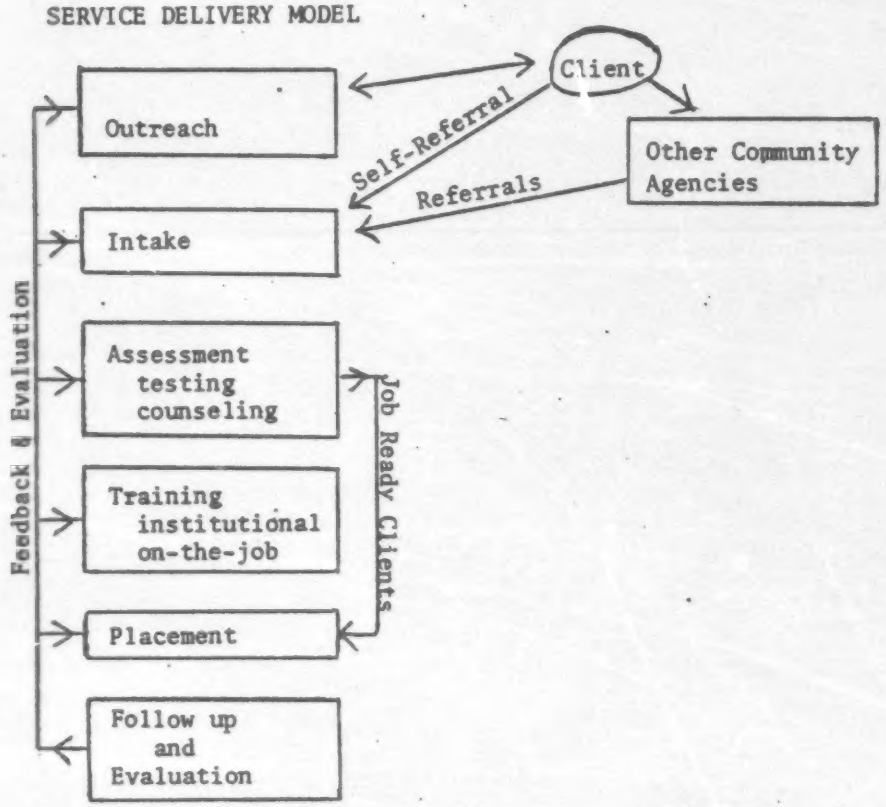
brokers between clients and resources, their primary function being to serve the client, not to maintain the system. As independent professionals, these staff members would be able to move institutions in ways which would be impossible if the institutions were their employer. For example, a community-based counselor could bring to bear moral or legal pressure on institutions to modify antiquated or irrelevant rules for admission, course requirements, etc. Thus, a shift in locale of the counseling function, from school to community, would refocus staff loyalty from the institution to the individual in need of service.

There are existing models for the establishment of community-based resource centers in the human service and manpower sectors and more recently in educational settings.[5-10] The human service agencies and manpower programs

5. Ronald H. Fredrickson, Francis U. Macy, and Donn F. Vickers. Barriers to Adult Career Change. The Regional Learning Service of Central New York-Syracuse, New York, June 20, 1975.
6. G. J. Nolfi (University Consultants, Inc.) and D. Brown (State College System). Proposal for Expansion of the Disadvantaged Student Programs at Massachusetts State Colleges and Community Colleges through the Formation of Educational Opportunity Centers Linked to Area Institutions, Executive Office of Educational Affairs (Commonwealth of Massachusetts, January 5, 1973).
7. Preliminary Report of the Commonwealth Task Force on the Open University (Boston, January 31, 1974).
8. Proposal for Massachusetts Regional Educational Opportunity Center Program, submitted by the Executive Office of Educational Affairs, Commonwealth of Massachusetts (Boston, May 1974).
9. G. J. Nolfi, and J. W. Bush, Jr. Progress Report and Evaluation of the Design and Implementation of Regional Educational Opportunity Center Program, University Consultants, Inc. (Cambridge, Mass., July and October, 1974).
10. G. J. Nolfi, J. W. Bush, Jr., C. F. Parker. Evaluation of the Pilot Regional Educational Opportunity Center Program for Non-traditional Adult Learners in Massachusetts, University Consultants, Inc., (Cambridge, Mass., June, 1975.

have, over the past ten years, developed a generalized process model that is particularly suited for use with an adult career intervention process (see diagram).

SERVICE DELIVERY MODEL



The primary objectives of these demonstration community-based adult resource centers (ARC) would be to:

1. reach persons forced out of work who are seeking to make a career change

2. help them assess their career goals and educational needs
3. inventory, catalog, accession, and make available information on career and educational opportunities
4. counsel clients on educational and training opportunities appropriate to their goals and consistent with their needs
5. provide advice and counsel on financial, admissions, and academic assistance available
6. help prepare necessary forms and applications to make the opportunities readily available
7. provide continuing counseling, advice, and supportive services during the educational experience of those attending postsecondary educational institutions
8. coordinate those sources which would assist in the identification and recruitment of members of selected target clienteles
9. coordinate, or improve the coordination, of those postsecondary educational institution resources which are to serve the needs of the counselled clientele

The package of services to be offered in an integrated center or purchased from a variety of providers might include the following:

Diagnosis

Counseling

Career planning tests

Referral assistance

Training

Placement

Financial assistance

A demonstration project testing the effectiveness and impact of community-based adult resource centers should include several alternative organization formats and mixes of services.[10] A major issue to be tested in designing these community-based adult resource centers is whether there should be direct provision of services or individualized purchase of services from other sources. The former organizational format solves the problem of the client having to seek out different services from different agencies. On the other hand, a center which provided few direct services but assisted clients in negotiating the purchase of services from various agencies offers the advantage of substantial flexibility in the mix of services offered the client and eliminates costly underutilization of staff when the client flow is uneven. This model has been used very successfully by the Vocational Rehabilitation Commission. A third model that could be tested would be a combination of these two models -- an adult resource center that provided some services directly but also relied on outside providers for the purchase of certain services.

The demand for adult career and guidance services in a particular geographical area fluctuates according to the condition of the economy and other localized variables. For this reason it would perhaps be better not to establish a permanent network of centers throughout the country. The

10. G. J. Nolfi and J. W. Bush, Jr. Design and Implementation of Community-Based Information Counseling and Referral Centers or to Serve Adult Learners: Lessons from the Massachusetts Experience. (tentative title; review paper in progress) C. J. Nolfi and J. W. Bush, Jr. (July, 1974).

ARC demonstration project should include the development of a management handbook for setting up and operating ARC's with local resources. NIE might also explore the possibility of using mobile ARC's that could be dispatched to areas with large numbers of displaced workers.

One of the most important goals of the Adult Resource Center (ARC) program is to reduce the barriers and obstacles faced by the adult population who wish to continue their education.[11] Planning for individual ARC's should be based on a comprehensive profile of the perceived barriers which might discourage participation in postsecondary education and an understanding of the preferences within the adult population for counseling and instructional services.[12]

Because the type of demand and obstacles to continuance varies throughout the target population in each geographic area, a diverse educational response must be developed.[13] The ARC system could make a valuable contribution to the regional planning effort by gathering data on the preferences for educational services which can be met by changes

11. The three major categories of barriers to career change reported by the Regional Learning Service of New York were attitudes, decision-making skills, and career qualifications. See Barriers to Adult Career Change, RLS of Central New York, Ronald H. Frederickson, Francis N. Macy, Donn F. Vickers (Syracuse, New York, June 20, 1975.)

12. Some of the material in the following pages appears in another form in reference 9.

13. Commission on Non-Traditional Study, Diversity by Design (San Francisco, 1973). Steven F. Hochschild, James Gilbert Johnson. Postsecondary Education Access Study, Part II, "Vermont Adult Aspiration Study," submitted to the Vermont State Colleges and to the State of Vermont Commission on Higher Education Facilities (January, 1974).

in the postsecondary delivery system. An access study conducted by the ARC system should indicate adult preferences not only for content and method of instruction, but also for location and time of instruction, and institutional affiliation of program or course.

- content of instruction: Which programs are most popular with which groups of the target population?

- method of instruction: Which instructional methods are preferred for each program of courses by each of the groups in the target population?

- location of instruction: What is the preferred location of instruction -- on the campus of a higher education institution, at a local high school, in a church, in another public building, at an industrial or commercial place of business, in the student's own home? Which groups in the target population prefer which locations? Also, how far are individuals willing to travel to class?

- time of instruction: Which groups prefer which times of instruction -- weekdays during the day, weekdays in the evening, or weekends? How many hours do adults prefer to spend in class each week?

- institutional affiliation of program or course: Which agency or institution do the various different groups in the target population prefer to have "offer" the course -- EOC, community college, state college, branch campus of university, vocational center, employer, or government agency?

Thus, one of the primary purposes of an access study is to develop planning information of the needs and preferences of adults for education and counseling services. By providing consortia, other regional educational planning systems, and/or each of the postsecondary educational institutions as well as employers with this information the ARCs will make an invaluable contribution to the effort to eliminate the access problems faced by the adult population

While it is clear that some barriers are removed by providing outreach, information and counseling services to the adult public, many of the obstacles to continuance of education can be overcome only through regional education planning and coordination. In this context, the ARC should function as an advocate for its clients by encouraging and supporting efforts to coordinate postsecondary providers of education for the purpose of making the necessary modifications to meet the previously unmet need of clients. The best method ARC can utilize to advocate for its clients

is to develop and make available information on the needs and preferences of its target groups.

The second major purpose of the proposed access study is to produce information necessary for the planning and structuring of ARC outreach, information, and counseling services. Without data indicating the various perceptions of obstacles to continuance of education within the adult target populations and without a clear understanding of the public's needs and preferences for counseling and information services, ARC staff are left to structure their operations based on a set of assumptions which may be invalid. These assumptions should be tested by analysis of various obstacles and preferences by age, income, and previous educational attainment.

Some of the chief obstacles to continuance of education which should be incorporated into this study are as follows:

- Full-time attendance requirements
- Lack of personal available time for study
- Cost of tuition (or perceptions of tuition cost)
- Home or job responsibilities
- Lack of information about available educational programs
- Course scheduling problems
- Attendance requirements
- Lack of transportation
- Lack of clear goals

An analysis of the importance which each of the target populations (by age, income, and/or previous educational attainment) attaches to each of these barriers would enable site staff to develop specific outreach and counseling strategies tailored to the needs of each group. For instance, young adults who aspire to continue their education but who postpone continuance due to lack of finances, may in fact be putting off postsecondary education because they believe education is financed primarily through personal savings. For those with low incomes, saving enough money for continuance of education may not be possible. If this is the case, outreach and advertising must be carefully structured to demonstrate the fact that education is financed primarily through financial aid grants and other aid programs.

A third purpose of an access study of this type is to develop information on the preferences of the adult public for the location, affiliation and services of a counseling center:

- location: What is the best primary location? Which residents will be attracted to which locations? Should the ARC have "branch" or remote counseling centers in a variety of locations? Which locations?

- affiliation of the counseling center: What affiliation for the ARC is preferred by the adult public -- Consortium, State Educational Agency, two-year and four-year colleges in the region? Which ARC identity is most attractive to the adult population -- government agency, proverty program, higher education information service, educational counseling center?

- services required by adult public: What proportion of the adult public requires services to be made available by the educational hotline only? What proportion of the adult public needs intensive counseling and diagnostic testing to be provided directly by the ARC?

The following six steps are recommended for inclusion in the ARC planning cycle:

(I) Setting Priorities

a. Client target populations: determination of order of importance of various groups within the geographic target regions for outreach and placement functions. Client target population priorities should be set in terms of specific age groupings, income, and previous educational attainment.

b. Geographic location commitments: determination of order of importance of each of the various geographic areas within the ARC target region. Geographic areas of comparable importance to ARC staff may be grouped.

c. Linkages: determination of order of importance of developing linkages with agencies and institutions within the region for both outreach and placement functions.

d. Development: determination of order of importance of all of the expressed staff development needs. Staff should forecast future staff development needs in addition to identifying current staff needs which are related to existing organizational problems.

(2) Setting Specific Objectives

a. Outreach objectives: determination of the number of adults to be contacted by ARC efforts and the number of adults to be recruited and developed as program participants (intakes). Outreach objectives should be set in terms of age, income, previous educational attainment and/or geographical location (residence).

b. Geographic location commitments: determination of proportion of total staff effort to be invested in each of the outreach and counseling locations in each ARC region.

c. Linkages: determination of the agencies and institutions with which the ARC will develop linkages. Staff ought to describe the linkage plans in terms of the specific relationship desired.

d. Placement: determination of the number of clients (by age, previous educational attainment, income, and/or geographic location) the ARC will place in post-secondary institutions.

e. Organizational development: determination of types of training activities or other institutional development activities to be developed.

(3) Developing Strategies for Outreach

a. Developing specific outreach methods: outreach methods should be targeted at diverse and specific groups within the target population, and staff should indicate what outreach results are intended for each strategy developed.

b. Developing specific linkage plans: staff should develop "referral specific" plans within agencies. These plans should include a description of the referral procedures and estimates of the number of clients to be referred.

(4) Developing Counseling Strategies

a. Developing specific counseling strategies: individual counseling, group counseling, testing, peer counseling, career exploration workshops, etc.

b. Developing linkage plans for student support and retention; plans for linkages within post-secondary systems ought to include a description of the division of responsibilities between the ARC program and the post-secondary program for providing counseling and tutoring support to clients

c. Developing follow-up plans: follow-up plans should include a description of the procedures by which follow-up will be provided for all clients and should include the specific follow-up plan for each client who is being counseled by the ARC, who has been admitted to a post-secondary program but has not as yet enrolled, or who is enrolled and is attending a post-secondary program.

(5) Management Planning

a. Planning: identification of the specific procedures for developing ARC plans. This should include a description of the responsibilities of staff in ARC planning, and a schedule for ARC planning. The planning cycle may vary in several of the planning functions. For instance, it may be most convenient to plan staff development according to a six-month cycle, whereas it may be useful to set priorities, objectives, and strategies for outreach and placement according to a three-month cycle which would correspond with the quarterly reporting schedule.

b. Staffing: the development or modification of staffing and job descriptions based upon completed plans.

c. Supervision and Control: design of methods for continuous comparison of outreach and counseling performance with objectives. This should include provisions for changing the design of various operations.

d. Information System: design or modification of the ARC information system. Staff responsibilities for the collection and storage of client data should be described.

e. Evaluation: procedures for evaluation of ARC operations. Evaluation is a critical component of the planning process and should be carefully scheduled to provide information on the effectiveness of the various ARC operations prior to the setting of new priorities, objectives, and strategies for outreach, counseling, and placement of clients.

Appendix

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